1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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Havasupai

PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August–September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheekapanyega and Mark

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups. 592 [614] [551]

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit. 592 596 [423] [591]

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods. [178] 162

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2] [175]

[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents (f), 39 411. The Havasupai sex ratio is 1210 males to 100 females; in 1900 it was 145, in 1904, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

DEATH CUSTOMS

763 [171] Relatives gather before the death and begin to cry: this however does not seem so stereotyped a procedure as that of the Mohave[1] and Walapai. The corpse is laid with his head to the northwest, his hair is 764 washed, face painted, and he is dressed in good clothes contributed by relatives and friends. Sometimes the face is covered. The following day everyone gathers to wail for several hours or perhaps the whole day. [624] The chiefs talk, particularly to the relatives, admonishing them to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. The mourners [171] do not sing or dance as they know the Mohave and Walapai do.

Formerly, the body was placed on a pyre at some distance from the [178] camp, together with the choicest possessions of the deceased. Nowadays it is buried with these objects among the rocks of the lower canyon level somewhere near the falls below the village. After a few days such 768 of the dead man's belongings as were in the camps on the plateau are brought down and burned on the grave. Two or three good horses are killed at the grave (their bodies are probably not burned) or they are pushed over the cliff. Saddles are often burned or destroyed; sometimes they are left on the horses. On the return of the funeral party a corpse [783] bearer might wash his hands, or bathe, and possibly wash his clothes. There is no formal purification, nor are those who come in contact with the corpse shunned.

764 178 Cremation began to go out of use sixty years ago, the last body being burned twenty-five years back. The change was not suggested nor enforced by the whites. "We wanted to change: we thought burning was not a good way." I am not certain that the change coincided with the introduction of the Ghost dance influences in 1870.

768 179 Formerly the house of the deceased was burned. Now, as a rule, the brush covering alone is burned, the timbers being saved to re-build elsewhere, though there is no great change in location. The modern frame house is abandoned for some time. Thus, when their boy died in 1918, Prince and his family went to live with his wife's father. In 1920 he built another house across the creek from the old one, and in 1921 he was living part of the time in both structures.

768 [183] [428] Farm land which belonged to the dead is allowed to lie idle for a year or two. This is not always the case, for Panamida planted in Nina's fields (his older brother's daughter) the year following her death; though, to be sure, the field really belonged to him. Should there be dependants,

[1] Kroeber, (a), 381.

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171 764 ward from here burial is reported: Tututni, Takelma, Alsea, Kalapooya, Lower Chinook, and Wishram.[1] Burial prevailed throughout the Basin, connecting these several areas by a distribution among Southern Ute, Gosiute, Paviotso, the Shoshoni of Owyhee River, the Paiute of Oregon, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.[2] Yarrow states that the Shoshoni "in the upper portion of Nevada" never cremate yet elsewhere he cites the Nevada Shoshoni as sometimes doing so.[3] The Wishram also stated that the "Snake" (more probably Oregon Paiute) cremated.[4] This may mean that some Shoshonean group near the Klamath followed their custom.

As the data stand there are two separate areas where cremation exists, southern California with western Arizona and central California. It is conceivable, however, that these two are connected through southwestern Nevada, or even by the Eastern Mono, for our information that this widely distributed people buried is from one spot only. Cremation occurs far to the north as well, from the Shuswap to the Kadiak Eskimo and Yuntakutchin. But I have not found any evidence connecting this area with those to the south.

Cremation is also a pre-Columbian custom in the Southwest. I have made no attempt to use the archaeological evidence because the time-relations have not been worked out.

171 178 764 An interesting point arises in connection with the change from cremation to burial. This began in southern California, under Mission influence, yet in 1811 the natives at Mission Santa Clara (Miwok or Yokuts) still burned their dead;[5] it was known to the Diegueño as late as the childhood of Davis' elderly informants[6], and to the Mohave in 1890.[7] The Yavapai, newly removed to a reservation, changed their method under protest about 1875[8], and the transition period is set by the Havasupai during the second half of the last century. The question arises, was not the new practice of burial, begun or fostered by the Mission fathers, diffused as a native trait? There is also the possibility of Ghost dance influence in 1870. There is, incidentally, a suggestion of change in the opposite direction in a myth of the Southern Maidu.[9]

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[1] *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 887; Sapir, (a), 373; Farrand, (b), 241; Gatschet, (b), 66; Pressléve, 257. A burial in an unnamed tribe was witnessed in the Willamette Valley near the present site of Salem between 1822–5 (Allen, *Burial Customs in Oregon*.)

[2] Lowie, (i), 279–280; Yarrow, (b), 137, 154, 161; Keegan, 31; Hopkins, 70; Yarrow, (b), 143; Lowie, (a), 214; Sisseton, 288; Chamberlain, (a), 660.

[3] Yarrow, (b), 143, 159.

[4] Information from Dr. W. D. Strong.

[5] Kroeber, (f), notes 15, 27, 68.

[6] Davis, (c), 64.

[7] Allen, 615. I have been told that it was common as late as 1910.

[8] Corbusier, 257.

[9] Powers, 340.

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Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luiseño also burn a house, but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.[1] 171 765 769

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luiseño erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 265).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokaia Pomo, and Northeastern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luiseño, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic. 171 178 764 765 769

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical harvest, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.[2] These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also. 171 765 769 [764]

[1] Davis, (a), 190, 192 ff.

[2] Hill-Tout, (a), Yale, Rivers, (a), 643; Teit, (a), 298, 333; (b), 372. (Hills-Tout does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Salishan tribes mentioned obtain or carved them.)

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481 move about and the obstacles of precipices and gorges could not
stand in the way. They were ingenious in scaling walls, so the
employees at the school merely widened the Indians' trails and
used them. The men produced a superior quality of buckskin by a
281 process of tanning with the roasted brains of deer and the marrow
[237] of the spinal cord. This was a tedious process of scraping, soaking,
burying the skin in wet sand and rubbing it between the hands
until soft and pliable. From these skins they had made moccasins
and clothing for the entire family. But now, "store clothes" were
[177] becoming more and more common.

178 Even before the beginning of this century, the tribe's habits and
customs were slowly yielding to the pressure of civilization. The
clothes they wore, the food they ate, the language they spoke, their
very thoughts were undergoing change. Instead of sitting at their
grandfather's knee learning the tribe's history and the traditions
that had molded the character of the people, their children were
now bent over books in the classroom. At the Sunday services they
were learning about a new and strange god.

224 But the loss that stirred the deepest resentment was that of their
648 hunting grounds. In this their gods could do nothing. The super-
stitions and taboos to which a hunter must conform were now
nullified by Arizona's game laws limiting the open season, which
also restricted the use of charms to that brief period when deer
were being slaughtered by the white man's guns. Even the prized
[709 calculus (a solid substance obtained from the paunch of a ruminant)
231] carried by the hunter to charm the deer and make it an easy target,
lost all value.

The restrictions on their hunting range were brought home to me forcibly the day a forest ranger stopped at my office and said, "I'd like to see the one in charge down here."

"I am in charge," I told him.

He regarded me coldly, then made his accusation: "You permit the Indians to kill deer out of season. It's against the law."

Someone had told. A picture flashed through my mind, one that I had acquired only a day or so previously. In the late afternoon, I

434 in their absence. Significance may be found in their having solved their economic problems on an individual basis by voluntary resettlement off the reservation with a regular income.

221 461 178 From the original Havasupai annual migration cycle, with its combined hunting, gathering, and farming economy, transition to the present patchwork pattern of farming, labor-for-wage employment, and partial or complete government dependency, occurring over the last 80 year period, has produced an unevenness in adaptation of individuals within the tribe.

221 178 For many years following establishment of a subagency in Supai, certain families persisted in following the traditional pattern of winter plateau residence. Depletion of wild food plant resources and enforcement of laws restricting the hunting of larger game to a prescribed autumn hunting season probably did more than Indian Service persuasion to induce an increasing number of families to winter in the canyon. By 1950, only one old couple continued to winter regularly on the plateau. This couple, alone or with several of their adult children and their families, was absent from Supai only about four months.

[222] Maturity of the pinyon nut crop on the plateau occasions the only mass exodus of families from the canyon at the present time. For three or four weeks the pinyon forest is alive with family groups reaping the harvest and enjoying a sort of nostalgic holiday. Following the pinyon harvest, families drift back to Supai, a few of them detouring to visit at Grand Canyon or on the Walapai reservation.

729 There was speculation among interested Indian Service personnel that the 11 Havasupai World War II veterans would not settle in Supai after their horizons had been broadened by Army training and experience which included overseas service for some of them. However, 10 of them returned to their families in the canyon and to their prewar residence and employment patterns.

657 In 1951, on the recommendation of an extension agent who had surveyed the economic situation of the Havasupai Indians for the Office of Indian Affairs, Havasupai families became eligible for resettlement on the Colorado River Irrigation Project near Parker, Arizona. This program, originally designed for Navaho and Hopi resettlement, allotted to each family 40 acres of farm land with an option to lease an additional 20 acres (Kelly 1953, 80). Later, old army barracks were made available for housing. Three of the younger Havasupai men settled on these land allotments, but two of them returned to Supai. Other men who were contacted individually by the resident agent simply could not be persuaded to consider moving away from Supai.

311 The land shortage is, of course, acute on the Havasupai reservation. It was estimated in 1950 that each family camp unit was farming about three or four acres. In 1955 a government soil scientist estimated that the

Summary

This, then, is the setting for the present day life of the Havasupai woman. Her immediate environment lies within the confines of Cataract Canyon, striking in beauty and once considered rich in life-sustaining resources. Now, however, with tribal lands mainly restricted to the canyon, and given a stabilized or increasing population and a change in economy, the former richness of Cataract Canyon has become modest indeed. It is inadequate for the number of people living there. 131 133

While the canyon home is of primary importance to the Havasupai, it by no means excludes alien influences and pressures. Even very aged Havasupai women leave the canyon with some frequency, sometimes remaining for weeks or months with relatives or friends in neighboring towns or on other reservations. It is a common misconception of visitors to Supai that the tribe lives in isolation. It must be stressed that the Havasupai see and learn much more of the outside world than white Americans ever know of the Havasupai. 574 648

Havasupai women of middle age, probably without exception, have had some formal schooling. Most of them attended boarding school for several years. Among the young adults, many of the women have one or more years of high school. At present, youngsters spend the entire school year living at schools outside the canyon and separated from their parents. 871

Havasupai women are in touch with white American culture through radio, movies, popular records, mail order catalogues, magazines, and, more emphatically, through influences of the resident agent and missionary families, other personnel rendering services to them, and face to face contact with white people in neighboring communities as well as visitors to the reservation. 177 648

The cultural heritage of the Havasupai woman was that of a farming and hunting people, seasonally migratory and somewhat less bound to the land than were their Pueblo neighbors. The tribal culture was so unformalized as to be characterized by its meagerness of content and also by the seeming indifference or inattention to the ideal with which the Havasupai followed specific cultural patterns. While tribal traditions continue to filter from one generation to the next, customs and the body of folk knowledge are becoming much attenuated among the younger generations and are often eclipsed by foreign influences. It might be said that the young Havasupai woman of today stands with her cultural heritage as much a part of her as the shadow which extends behind her, but her mind is literally turned toward a new culture which she accepts readily as she is able to comprehend its usefulness to her. 178 182

The siblings of a child's parents have no special institutionalized roles in connection with the child, but the infant's father's sister or his mother's sister may enact the role of the maternal grandmother at his birth if the grandmother is absent or deceased. Also, an orphan or an illegitimate child may become the ward of a paternal or maternal aunt or uncle. An orphan sometimes becomes the ward of an adult sibling, of a sibling of any one of his four lineal grandparents, or of another distant relative. 604 [848]

Terminology for parallel cousins coincides with that for siblings. Regardless of residence, parallel cousins are considered almost as close as siblings, but they are particularly close if they grow up in the same camp. Marriage with both parallel and cross cousins is forbidden as it is with any recognized genetic relative. If a younger sibling of a child's father or mother happens to be of the same age and sex as the child and is a member of the same residence group, the association may lead to a bond of mutual regard comparable to that between parallel cousins. 605 [582]

Children are instructed by their parents and grandparents in their economic and social roles. Verbal instructions are given when a child is asked to perform a task, but he learns largely from observation of, and participation in, family and tribal activities. The manner in which a child's parent of the same sex does his work is held up to the child as a model of the behavior he is expected to learn. In all verbal instructions, one theme is stressed and reiterated; both girls and boys are admonished to be industrious. The exhortation is phrased in the negative, however. "Don't be lazy. If you lie around all day, your family will have nothing." 861 867

While hunting and gathering are no longer significant activities, dependence upon agriculture continues. In recent years, since mechanized methods of preparing the land for planting have been adopted to some extent by tribal members, operation of farm machinery has been limited to men. Formerly, men and women shared all phases of gardening with the exception of irrigation, which was restricted to men. These changes have reduced the economic contributions which women make directly in obtaining the family's food supply with the exception of those who become wage earners. Consequently, little girls spend much less time helping their mothers in gathering and gardening activities than once was necessary. 241 462 [177] [857]

The former pattern of instructing a child in his primitive technological roles has become less significant relative to his welfare and existence as an adult. Factors which have a bearing upon this cultural change are: (1) establishment of the Havasupai Indian Reservation, and increasingly permanent residence thereon due to depletion of natural resources; (2) subsequent partial dependence of the Havasupai upon financial aid from the Office of Indian Affairs, and (3) school attendance. 178 182 861

Much of a girl's role is outlined for her indirectly. Children of both sexes share their games and, to some extent, their work. Verbal definition 861

were witnessed. Parents are seldom ruffled by small offenses, and the admonition "don't," used frequently, is usually spoken in a calm tone. However, certain men while drunk have brutally beaten a child, although a man's wife is more frequently the object of a blow in such circumstances. It is doubtful that severe beating of children occurred with any frequency before alcohol was available to the Havasupai. 861 [273]

Boys may be slightly more aggressive toward girls than toward each other. Both sexes behave aggressively toward dogs, but girls probably less so. Adults only occasionally interfere in behalf of a dog. 578 865

Adults seldom tease children and they try to prevent children from teasing one another. However, in certain families, there seems to be an established "pecking order" from eldest to youngest. Temper tantrums are expressed by spiteful or sulking behavior. As a rule, such displays are ignored rather than pacified or punished. One child of five when slapped pummelled his mother's legs, but she ignored this behavior. Another boy of three, when reprimanded verbally by his grandmother, with whom he lives, whacked the ground close to her with his lariat. When she ignored this, he dangled his rope in one of the cooking pans on the fire while watching her with an expression that plainly said he was trying to antagonize her. She did not look at him. He whimpered and sulked for a few minutes, then turned away and soon was playing happily. Only one girl, a child of nine, was observed in a similar tantrum. She cried and sulked alternately for an hour and a half, while her mother tried to coax or bribe her into a better mood. The girl was upset because she wanted to be taken to a white doctor to have a bee sting bandaged. At length she was pacified with a candy bar obtained at some inconvenience to two other persons. This behavior apparently was not unusual; this mother was indulgent with all her children, and especially so with this girl. (The latter incident occurred at Grand Canyon, not in Supai.) 861 865

Fear of ghosts is transmitted from early childhood. A very young child is threatened by being told that a ghost will "get him." Adults do not ridicule children who are afraid to leave the house after dark, nor do they force them to go out unaccompanied. Children are sometimes frightened into obedience by being told that they will be carried off by a cow, an eagle, a coyote, a mountain lion, a wildcat, a snake, a lizard, or a frog. However, the threats concerning animals become less effective than the ghost threat as a child grows older and becomes familiar with the characteristics of such animals. 861 775 [825]

Illegitimacy

It is said that there were very few illegitimate children in former times in contrast to the present. The validity of this statement may rest upon one or more of the following factors: (1) a postulated change in the 848 847 178

848 culture pattern regulating premarital sexual activity; (2) abortion, and/or
847 (3) infanticide. Greater premarital sexual freedom is the reason given by
● 178 the Havasupai to explain their belief that illegitimate births are on the increase. The practice of abortion is acknowledged for both present and past times. Informants, now cognizant of Christian ethics, readily described a method of abortion, but became vague concerning cases in point and
[114] denied any knowledge that infanticide ever was practiced. However, Spier
[845] (1928, 301) describes the destruction of a female twin by burial. The practice of infanticide for removing an unwanted twin suggests the possibility of a similar fate for illegitimate infants.

848 Because paternity of an illegitimate child is very often in doubt, and the mother usually is living with her parents, such a child is born in the household of his maternal grandparents, where he remains at least until his mother marries. His mother may leave her child to the care of his grandparents if she goes away for employment or other reasons. A child's age at the time of his mother's marriage appears to have some bearing upon his future residence. A nursing infant or a very young child is likely to accompany his mother. Reasons appear to be: (1) a young child's greater dependency upon his mother for nursing and other care; (2) absence of strong attachments which often exist between an older child and his grandparents; and (3) possibly a stepfather's quicker acceptance of a very young child. However, men appear to accept stepchildren of all ages quite readily. If an illegitimate child's mother marries a man who believes himself to be the child's real father, the child, regardless of age, usually resides with his mother and her husband; at least, no example to the contrary could be discovered. Temporary maternal residence, if it is prac-
[591] ticed, provides an illegitimate child and his stepfather an opportunity to accept or to reject one another before any decision concerning future residence need be made. Family residence patterns, however, are plastic enough to permit a change if an illegitimate child or a stepchild is unwanted or himself wishes to leave his mother's household. If grandparents or other close relatives were willing, such a child would simply join their camp, either on a temporary or a permanent basis.

848 Occasionally, the grandparents of an illegitimate child show more
603 concern for him than does his mother. In one example, an illegitimate baby born at Tuba City was given by his mother to a nurse at the hospital. The mother had attempted to conceal her pregnancy and denied to friends that she had had a child. Her father, however, got the truth from her and recovered the baby, who lived with his grandparents during infancy and eventually became the ward of a bachelor paternal granduncle.

In another example, an illegitimate boy of two years lived with his maternal grandparents in Grand Canyon Indian Village, while his mother, employed as a cabin girl, lived nearby with some girls her own age. His mother spent most of her leisure hours with her girl friends, or preparing for and keeping dates with boys. The boy's grandmother, who cared for

182 girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the
834 two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache
836 informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

836 It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand,
183 that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation
178 residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

834 Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a
864 later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

834 It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each
684 other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the
[626] gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastised him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

834 Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near
964 the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

571 Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their
834 demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

562 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress,
561 with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable.

[591]

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance to violent rejection and even repeated flight.

Changes in the Pattern

178 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes
562 of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed
581 to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period.
834 This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.)

[89%]

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 934 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

585 586 saw she didn't want that boy, or maybe the boy would quit trying because he didn't want a wife that would fight him. Girls and boys were bashful in those times and sometimes it was hard for their parents to make a marriage for the young people, not like today."

Marriage by Nocturnal Visit

584 In the other form of marriage, verbal arrangements were not made in advance. A youth crept into a hogan, awakened the girl of his choice, and was permitted to sleep with her if she wanted to become his wife. If not, she would tell him to leave. A rejected suitor usually hurried away, if possible before the girl aroused her family. If the girl's parents wanted her to marry the boy, they would talk to her and, later on, would let the boy know that he should try again. If the parents thought the boy unacceptable, they would help their daughter send him away.

Recent Changes

582 584 178 177 Marriage arrangements and tribal attitude toward initiating marriage both have changed in the last half century under reservation residence and influences of the white culture. Formerly, parental approval or eventual acceptance was almost essential due to customary residence with one set of parents and dependence of the couple upon the groom's family for use or allotment of farm land in Havasu Canyon. A relatively inexperienced young couple formerly would have been reluctant to face the uncertain economic situation alone.

Today, a reverse economic situation prevails. A married couple striking out independently in the white economic community not only survives but usually is able to achieve a higher standard of living than that possible in the parental household. While this situation encourages some young couples to reside permanently off the reservation, a majority of them remain nominally attached to a parental household while working seasonally or irregularly elsewhere. Nevertheless, the possibility of economic independence appears to influence young couples to act on their own in arranging marriage.

In addition to economic independence, other factors make it easier for young people at present to disregard traditional parental roles in marriage arrangements. Residence in boarding school removes a child from parental control and probably indoctrinates him with attitudes favoring individual, or at least nonfamilial, thought and action. Girls, especially, are less dependent socially and economically upon their parents. Adolescents of both sexes are less concerned with learning skills necessary for survival, and consequently have less responsibility and more leisure time. These factors, together with tribal concentration on the reservation, offer more opportunity for individuals to form attachments based on personal attraction. Young people also may be encouraged to independent action by the white example

of romantic love and individual freedom in selecting a mate as suggested in popular songs, movies, and magazines. 177 178

Only a few couples have been married in accordance with white custom, but these are not all marriages of recent years. It appears that a few such marriages were performed as far back as 1910, probably under the influence of Indian Service personnel employed on the reservation. More recently, the Episcopal Mission has exerted some influence in this direction. In one marriage of 1928, the bride's parents gave their consent on condition that a marriage license be obtained, because they thought this would lend stability to the marriage and thus insure their daughter's future security. 582 584

The Marriage Gift

In former times a gift, although customarily given, was not required. "In the old days, if a boy didn't give a gift his father-in-law wouldn't ask for one or talk about it behind the boy's back. The father-in-law wouldn't separate a couple on that account but would treat the boy like his own son anyway. He would think the boy gave none because he had nothing to give." 585 583

While marriage gifts are still given, they are frequently overlooked since couples have begun drifting into marriage independent of parental control. Even 20 or 30 years ago, a gift was omitted in some instances.

The traditional marriage gift was a gift rather than a bride price, although it had some features of payment or compensation for the loss of a daughter. In the same sentence, an informant may refer to goods, money, or services rendered by the groom both as a gift and as a payment, thus betraying absence of a clear definition within the culture as to the function of a marriage gift. One informant explained: "Some men considered it a price like paying for a horse, but others said it was a gift. A man would say, 'I gave---- for her.' To himself he would think, 'I bought her,' but he didn't mention it that way."

Bargaining or discussion concerning the kind or amount of a gift customarily did not occur before it was tendered, but occasionally a girl's father might make a special request in advance if the boy's family had something he wanted, or if he were in need of a particular thing. If a girl's father was not satisfied with a gift, or if he thought his daughter was worth more, he returned it. If the boy really wanted the marriage, a month or two later his father would make a substitution or add something to the original gift and offer it again. It is said that arguments over gifts did not arise. If a gift was given after marriage, the bride's father usually accepted it with good grace, regardless of his feeling, because he wanted to stay on good terms with his son-in-law. Before marriage a gift might be delivered by a suitor's father or a representative, but after marriage the groom himself ordinarily

854 736 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 854 736 58 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual affection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently. [178]

Old Age

488 737 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

If one violated this prescription
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabíʔiyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

764 At death, the relatives washed the corpse and dressed it in clean clothes. A blanket was wrapped around the body and sewn together leaving
[178] an opening only for the face. Within 24 hours it was cremated or, in more
[535] recent times, interred. ["Crys" or mourning rites, without dancing, were
[177] held at any time convenient for the majority of survivors. Today the Mohave mourning ceremony has been adopted, not only after the death of an individual, but, through acculturation, annually on May 30th, Memorial Day.]

Spier (1928, 292) reported the last cremation 25 years before his study, but our informants referred to two cremations in the winter of 1919 (when the ground was frozen hard). [According to Whiting (MS) Sinyella's son was cremated in 1897, Chief Navajo was buried in 1898, and Rock Jones
[766] was cremated in the late 1920's. When Curtis (1908, 101) visited the Havasupai he reported only interment of the dead.] Infants were not cremated in fear that the mother would become barren. The deceased's head was pointed to the north, less frequently south or west, and never to the east in fear that the latter position would guarantee return of the ghost. Burial
[178] in rock crevices or in caves was common [although today all are buried in a cemetery below the village].

Prior to the adoption of the Mohave funeral ceremony with its accompanying dancing, when a corpse was ready to be either cremated or interred, a lone speaker would stand near the head and, addressing the deceased, tell it that those still alive wish it had not died; that it was nevertheless going to a better place with better food and water, and that the living must await their time.

764 Spier (1928, 293) was correct in indicating that the first Mohave mourn-
177 ing songs were used at a funeral in 1919, although some Havasupai had begun
[114] to learn them as early as 1914. At the time some Mohaves and Chemehuevis visited Havasupai and sang them at a "pow-wow"[?]. Later, the Havasupai
[535] learned others from the Walapai. The use of the Mohave dance at funerals may not have begun until as late as 1943.

764 [Since a contemporary Havasupai funeral ceremony has not been reported upon in detail, we shall describe the one that Smithson (1959, 133) observed in 1951.]

The Funeral of Mexican Jack

764
[165] Mexican Jack died of tuberculosis at Grand Canyon on July 29, 1951, in his 77th year as nearly as could be ascertained. He was a widower, leaving two children. Throughout his life he had been well respected, and